

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 ACDA-19 EB-11 IO-14 AEC-11

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 EURE-00 AECE-00 /156 W
----- 005067

P R 141828Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5480

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

473 &01/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 5724

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNATO 3397

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 31999

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY IF DESIRED

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH PRESS TREATMENT OF SECRETARY'S LONDON ADDRESS

SUMMARY: SECRETARY'S PILGRIMS SOCIETY ADDRESS HAS DRAWN SOME FAINT
PRAISE IN PARTS OF FRENCH PRESS. MAJOR THEME OF COMMENT HERE,
HOWEVER, IS THAT FRAGILE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND UNITY
WOULD SUFFER "DISASTROUSLY" FROM RETURN TO "BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL
CONSULTATIONS OF THE PAST", WHICH LE MONDE FELT WAS AT HEART OF
KISSINGER MESSAGE. OBSERVERS EXPRESSING THIS VIEW WERE CAREFUL
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TO ADD THAT, ONCE EUROPE HAS ACHIEVED UNITY, STRONG TIES WITH THE

"AMERICAN ALLY" ARE A MUST. BUT LONDON SPEECH WAS GENERALLY SEEN, MEANWHILE, AS POSSIBLE ELEVENTH-HOUR TRY AT INFLUENCING (ONE DESCRIPTION TERMED IT "TORPEDOING") COPENHAGEN SUMMIT

END SUMMARY.

1. "THE EFFORT PUT FORWARD MR KISSINGER IS PRAISEWORTHY", SAID LE MONDE IN DECEMBER 13 EDITORIAL (PARIS 31916 NOTAL) ADDING AT ONCE THAT, COMING ON THE EVE OF COPENHAGEN SUMMIT, IT LOOKED LIKE "LAST-MINUTE EFFORT TO INTERFERE WITH DECISIONS THE NINE MIGHT TAKE". IN FACT, PAPER SAID, SECRETARY MADE NO SECRET OF HIS VIEW THAT, WHILE U.S. WELCOMES EUROPEAN UNITY, IT CANNOT LET EUROPEANS MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS WITHOUT FIRST CONSULTING U.S. AND GETTING ITS ADVICE. LE MONDE SAID SECRETARY FEELS RECENT EUROPEAN BEHAVIOR RUNS COUNTER TO TIES OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN EUROPE AND U.S., AND WENT ON:"HE IS LARGELY RIGHT, OF COURSE, AND NOT ONLY FROM HIS OWN POINT OF VIEW. NO WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT SERIOUSLY CONTEMPLATES QUESTIONING THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AND NECESSITY FOR SOLIDARITY IN ENERGY CRISIS NEEDS NO FURTHER DEMONSTRATION. YET THE CREATION OF A EUROPEAN ENTITY MAKES NO SENSE IF IT DOESN'T IMPLY AN EFFORT AT IDENTIFICATION, AND THUS OF SELF-DECLARATION, RELATIVE TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD IN GENERAL AND THE PROTECTOR POWER IN PARTICULAR. NO FEDERATION, INCLUDING THAT OF THE UNITED STATES, WAS EVER BORN OTHERWISE. AND IT'S HARD TO SEE HOW A RETURN TO THE BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE PAST WOULD NOT DISASTROUSLY HAMPER THE POLITICAL UNIFICATION UNDERWAY WITHIN THE COMMUNITY." AS EXAMPLES, LE MONDE ASKED WHETHER MESSRS. NIXON OR KISSINGER CONSULTED WITH EUROPEANS BEFORE THE "ECONOMIC DECISIONS" OF AUGUST 1971 OR "MILITARY STEPS" OF OCTOBER 25, 1973.

2. IN SIMILAR VEIN, BUT IN STRONGER LANGUAGE, UDR NEWSPAPER LA NATION SAID KISSINGER ADDRESS LOOKED LIKE A MANEUVER TO INFLUENCE COPENHAGEN PROCEEDINGS. OFFERING AN "OPTIMISTIC AND SMILING" PICTURE OF U.S. POSITION TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY, PAPER SAID IN FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL, SECRETARY REAFFIRMED EXISTENCE .../... IRWIN

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 AEC-11 DRC-01 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20 OMB-01

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P R 141828Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5481

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USIA WASHDC

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OF AN "ATLANTIC COMMUNITY" WHICH TAKES PRECEDENCE IN HIS EYES
OVER EUROPEAN UNITY EFFORTS. BUT WITH SUCH A CONCEPT OF AN
ATLANTIC COMMUNITY HOW CAN EUROPEANS BE PERSUADED THEY ARE
ANYTHING MORE THAN A DEPENDENCEY OF U.S.? "IT IS NOT A MATTER OF
DEFINING EUROPE AGAINST THE U.S., BUT TO DEFINE IT INDEPENDENTLY
OF THE U.S.", LA NATION DECLARED; ONCE THIS IS DONE, PAPER SAID,
"IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT EUROPE WILL HAVE TO ORGANIZE ITS
RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. ON BASIS OF THE ALLIANCE THAT UNITES
U.S. WITH EIGHT OF THE NINE COMMUNITY MEMBERS." HOWEVER, IN
THIS DIFFICULT WEDDING CEREMONY OF THE NINE, PAPER PHILOSOPHIZED,
"IT' S BETTER THAT THE MOTHER-IN-LAW NOT INSIST ON BEING PRESENT
IN THE BEDROOM WHILE THE MARRIAGE IS BEING CONSUMMATED." U.S.
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DENIALS OF EXISTENCE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN "CONDOMINIUM", PAPER
CONTINUED, ARE IN "OPEN CONTRADICTION WITH REALITY". IF THERE IS
NO CONDOMINIUM, IT ASKED, "WHAT PREVENTS MR.KISSINGERFROM ASKING
MR. WALDHEIM TO INVITE BRITAIN AND FRANCE...TO THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE? BETTER THAN LONG SPEECHES ON THE BLESSINGS OF RENEWED
ATLANTICRELATIONS, SUCH A GESTURE WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO EUROPEANS
THAT, IN AMERICAN MINDS, THEY ARE SOMETHING OTHER THAN SATELLITES."
EUROPE MUST NOW CROSS THE LINE BETWEEN INFANCY AND COMING OF AGE,
LA NATION CONCLUDED. "THERE IS NO WAY TO UNITY THAT DOES NOT PASS
THROUGH INDEPENDENCE. WHEN THIS IS WON, VERY STRONG TIES MUST
BE ESTABLISHED WITH THE AMERICAN ALLY. BUT TODAY IS THE MOMENT
OF TRUTH---NOTHING SHOULD KEEP EUROPE FROM THE DESIRE TO BE

ITSELF AND FULLY ASSUME ITS DESTINY."

3. IN FINANCIAL LES ECHOS, JACQUES CLERGIER CHARGED SECRETARY WITH "MANAGING TO SNEAK BACKSTAGE AT COPENHAGEN 36 HOURS BEFORE THE SUMMIT." IRKED BY DETERMINATION OF NINE TO PROCLAIM THEIR UNITY INDEPENDENTLY, HE WROTE, SECRETARY PROPOSED CREATION OF ENERGY ACTION GROUP. "IN SEEKING TO TORPEDO THE EUROPE-ARAB CONFERENCE WHICH HEADS OF STATE WERE TO DISCUSS INCOPENHAGEN, MR. KISSINGER HAS MANAGED TO PUT HIS FINGER ON VARIOUS EUROPEAN SORES." FRANCE, HE SAID, WANTS A COMMONMARKET INDEPENDENT OF ARABS FOR ITS OIL, AND FROM THE U.S. FOR ITS URANIUM. "WILL FRANCE SUCCEED IN CONVINCING HER PARTNERS THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO PROVE THEIR POLITICAL INTENTIONS WITH ACTS?"

4. ELSEWHERE, LES ECHOS COMPARED KISSINGER ENERGY PROPOSALS FRENCH VIEWS ON SUBJECT, AND USED QUOTES FROM REMARKS LAST MAY BY EMBOFF AT A PARIS ENERGY SYMPOSIUM TO SHOW CONSISTENCY OF U.S. POSITION THAT COORDINATION ON ENERGY MATTERS IS IMPERATIVE. DESCRIBING FRENCH AIM FOR "VAST COOPERATION WITH ARAB COUNTRIES," NEWSPAPER SAID THIS IDEA RUNS INTO A DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS AMONG EUROPEANS THEMSELVES, AND CONSEQUENTLY "IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT, AT COPENHAGEN, SOME COUNTRIES, FACED WITH MR. KISSINGER' S NEW POROPSAL, WON' T PREFER ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY." SAME VIEW APPEARED IN AURORE, WHICH JUDGED THAT "EUROPEANS, FOR THE MOMENT, ARE RATHER RESERVED ABOUT THE FRENCH PLAN. RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, THEY SEEM TO HAVE RETAINED MR. KISSINGER' S IDEA...."

5. FIGARO' S ROGER MASSIP SAID SECRETARY' S "LAST-MINUTE PROPOSAL" IS LIKELY FURTHER TO COMPLICATE THINGS IN COPENHAGEN. "IT WOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

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REGRETTABLE", HE SAID, "IF SOME OF OUR PARTNERS SAW THE KISSINGER OFFER ---WHICH REFLECTS THE SAME CONCERNS AS THOSE OF EUROPEANS--- AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR POSTPONING COMMUNITY ACTION. IT IS THE COMMUNITY' S DUTY TO ACT, AND THIS DOES NOT PRECLUDE A SUBSEQUENT ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. WITH EUROPEAN EFFORTS...." IN PRECEDING DAY' S EDITION OF FIGARO, ECONOMICS EDITOR ALAIN VERNAY SAID "THE NEAR FUTURE WILL TELL WHETHER MR. KISSINGER IS TRYING AN OPERATION ENABLING ALL OF US TO PUT THE PAST BEHIND US, OR WHETHER THIS IS JUST A KIND OF BLUFF TO RALLY AROUND HIM A RESTIVE AND DIVIDED WEST."IRWIN

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